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Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------290145Z 016752 /62
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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0774

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 2386

NODIS/STADIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: TECH, MNUC, ENRG, PARM, BR
SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON FRG/GOB NUCLEAR AGREEMENT

REF: (A) STATE 067066, (B) STATE 067182, (C) STATE 067818,
(D) STATE 067973

1. OF THE THREE OPTIONS PROPOSED IN REFTEL (A), I CONSIDER THAT THE FIRST -- THE USE OF THIS EMBASSY AS THE INTERLOCUTOR WITH THE GOB -- IS REALLY NOT PRACTICAL. OF NECESSITY, THE EMBASSY WOULD HAVE TO REFER ANY SIGNIFICANT PROPOSALS OR IDEAS FROM THE BRAZILIAN SIDE TO WASHINGTON, WITH CONSEQUENT FRUSTRATION ALL AROUND. THE GOB WOULD REALIZE FROM THE OUTSET THAT THIS CHANNEL FOR THE TALKS WOULD BE AT ONE CONSIDERABLE REMOVE FROM THE SUBSTANTIVE AND TECHNICAL DECISION-MAKING CENTER. I APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION IN PROPOSING THIS OPTION, BUT I DO THINK THAT THE GOB WOULD LOOK UPON IT AS NOT TRULY SERIOUS.

2. THE OTHER TWO OPTIONS ARE, OF COURSE, LINKED. CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF THE GOB'S BEING INDUCED TO START ADDRESSING OUR PROPOSALS SERIOUSLY AS THEY MAY BECOME MORE UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE FRG POSITION, WE WERE DRAFTING A TELEGRAM ON THIS POINT WHEN THE REFTEL ARRIVED. IN THAT TELEGRAM, WHICH HAD BEEN PROMPTED BY SEVERAL REF-

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ERENCES IN RECENT TRAFFIC FROM THE DEPARTMENT TO OTHER CAPITALS, WE WERE GOING TO MAKE TWO BASIC POINTS, WHICH I NOW PRESENT: FIRST, A REITERATION OF OUR STRONG BELIEF THAT, WITHOUT THE STIMULUS OF OBVIOUS FRG BACKING AWAY, THE GOB WILL CONTINUE TO BE INTRANSIGENT; AND, SECOND, THE NEED FOR THE FRG TO GIVE THE GOB A SPECIFIC, DIRECT, OFFICIAL SIGNAL TO THAT EFFECT. WE DO NOT

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BELIEVE THAT THE GOB WILL BE MOVED FROM ITS STAND-PAT POSITION, NOW RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT WITH THE MARCH 11 WHITE BOOK, BY VAGUE HINTS OR INTIMATIONS OUT OF BONN THAT ARE MUFFLED BY THEIR BEING MADE THROUGH THE PRESS, WHICH SEEMS TO BE THE CURRENT SITUATION. THE GOB, IN SHORT, HAS TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE FRG IS REALLY AND CONCRETELY BEING INFLUENCED BY THE US STANCE BEFORE THERE IS ANY SUBSTANTIAL PROSPECT OF BRAZILIAN ATTENTION TO OUR PROPOSALS. WE UNDERSTAND FULLY HOW DIFFICULT THIS IS FOR THE FRG TO DO AND FOR US TO GET THE FRG TO DO, BUT WITHOUT IT, THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE OF GOB ADDRESS TO OUR PROPOSALS.

3. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, IT WOULD BE IDEAL IF (A) BETWEEN NOW AND THE APPROACH TO THE GOB WITH THE THIRD OPTION, (THE "NON-DISCUSSION"), THE FRG WERE TO NOTIFY THE GOB THAT IT FELT ITSELF OBLIGED TO GIVE GREAT WEIGHT TO THE U.S. POSITION AND THEREFORE WAS SUSPENDING THE DELIVERY OF THE SYMBOLICALLY (AND PERHAPS TECHNOLOGICALLY) IMPORTANT BLUEPRINTS, ETC., UNTIL THE FRG GAVE FURTHER STUDY TO THE QUESTION AND UNTIL THERE WERE FRG-USG TALKS AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL; AND (B) WE WERE SURE THAT THE DECISION ON URENCO WAS GOING TO BE IN LINE WITH OUR HOPES AND DESIRES. (HERE I NOTE THAT THE DEPARTMENT WILL UNDER-STAND THAT, ALTHOUGH THE US ACTIONS ON THE URENCO MATTER HAVE BEEN MADE NECESSARY BY THE TIME-CONSTRAINT FACTORS, THEY DO AT THE SAME TIME, REINFORCE AND GIVE FURTHER SUBSTANCE TO THE GOB CONCERNS ABOUT POLITICAL MANIPULATION OF FUEL SUPPLIES, EVEN THOSE FROM MULTILATERAL SOURCES.)

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RM I SAY THAT THIS WOULD BE A SEQUENCE OF EVENTS THAT WOULD REPRESENT OPTIMUM CIRCUMSTANCES FOR INDUCING THE GOB TO SETTLE DOWN TO SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF OUR IDEAS. EVEN IF THE IDEAL CANNOT BE ACHIEVED NOW, MOVEMENT IN BOTH THESE DIRECTIONS WOULD HELP TO ENHANCE THE CHANCES OF SUCH CONSIDERATION. FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN MUFFLED SIGNALS OUT OF BONN, SO LONG AS THEY WERE PARALLELLED BY CLEARLY NEGATIVE INDICATORS OUT OF URENCO, WOULD BE USEFUL.

5. IN ANY EVENT, WE FIND OPTION 3 WORTHWHILE, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO OFFER IT TO THE GOB INDEPENDENTLY OF THE CERTAINTY OF MOVEMENT IN THE TWO AREAS REFERRED TO ABOVE. WE CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE FOR SEVERAL REASONS: FIRST, IT DOES NOT INDICATE WEAKENING OF OUR POSITION BUT RATHER A CONSCIENTIOUS DESIRE TO CONTINUE, UNDER CONDITIONS THAT PROTECT THE GOB, THE DIALOGUE THAT WAS STARTED WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VISIT AND THAT THE JOINT PRESS

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STATEMENT DECLARED WAS TO GO ON. IN THIS SENSE, IT PUTS
THE GOB ON THE SPOT TO SOME DEGREE. SECOND, IT JUST MIGHT
HIT THE GOB PSYCHOLOGICALLY RIGHT BECAUSE ITS TOUCH OF
HUGGER-MUGGER GIVES IT AN AURA OF THE "BIG TIME". THIRD,
THE "NON-DISCUSSIONS" APPROACH COULD PUT TO THE TEST
THE QUESTION OF THE EXISTENCE OF INTERNAL BRAZILIAN DOUBTS
ABOUT THE INDEFINITE SUPPORTABILITY OF ITS PRESENT HARD
POSTURE.

6. IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT, EVEN WITH THE FACTORS
MENTIONED IN PARA 4 MOVING IN OUR FAVOR, AND EVEN THOUGH
WE CONSIDER THIS APPROACH WORTHWHILE, WE WOULD RATE THE
CHANCES OF SUCCESS OF THE PROPOSAL FOR A NON-DISCUSSION
NO BETTER THAN EVEN. THE BASIC GOB FEAR WOULD BE THAT
ACCEPTANCE OF THE NON-DISUCSSIONS WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY
US AND THE FRG (AS IT CERTAINLY WOULD BE) AS A WEAKENING
OF ITS RESOLVE, THUS PROVIDING A PRETEXT FOR FURTHER FRG
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DELAY. BEYOND THIS, SILVEIRA AND UPPER LEVELS OF THE
GOB MAY FEEL THAT THE ISSUE IS FAR TOO IMPORTANT TO BE
TREATED BY OFFICIALS AWAY FROM THEIR DIRECT CONTROL.
TO THE DEGREE THAT THE FACTORS IN PARA 4 ARE NOT IN PLACE,
THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS DROP APPRECIABLY.

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------290141Z 016746 /62
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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0775

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 2386

NODIS/STADIS

7. I WOULD PLAN TO MAKE THE PITCH TO SILVEIRA NOT LATER
THAN MARCH 30. THIS TIMING TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE

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DEPARTMENT'S POINT ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE URENCO DECISION, BUT IT ALSO IS CONNECTED WITH THE SECRETARY'S MARCH 31 VISIT TO BONN. EVEN THOUGH THE GOB WILL BE VERY HEARTENED BY THE FRG POSITION REPORTED IN REFTEL (B), THEY MAY WELL BE UNEASY ABOUT THE IMPACT ON THE FRG OF THE SECRETARY'S STOP.

8. ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER REFERRED TO IN REFTEL (C) WOULD BE VERY GOOD TO HAVE FOR DELIVERY IN MY MEETING WITH SILVEIRA, I WOULD NOT PLAN TO HOLD UP MY NLT MARCH 30 DEADLINE IF I HAVE NOT RECEIVED IT BY THEN.

9. I WOULD NOT PLAN TO TAKE UP THE US DOMESTIC NUCLEAR DECISIONS WITH SILVEIRA (REFTEL D) WHEN I MAKE THE "NON-DISCUSSION" PITCH, WITH OR WITHOUT THE LETTER. I AM AFRAID THAT IT WILL CONFUSE HIM WITH RESPECT TO THE ESSENTIAL POINT. THE CONTENTS OF REFTEL (D) WOULD BE PASSED ON AFTERWARDS AT A SLIGHTLY LOWER LEVEL IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. WE WILL BE SENDING OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON REFTEL (D) IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM SOONEST.

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QPM RETURNING TO MY PRESENTATION OF THE NON-DISCUSSION IDEA TO SILVEIRA, I CANNOT MYSELF GO OVER HIS HEAD TO GOLBERY WITHOUT CREATING AN ENTIRELY DESTRUCTIVE REACTION. IT IS VERY DOUBTFUL, MOREOVER, THAT GOLBERY WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A VISIBLE BYPASS. WE WOULD PLAN, HOWEVER, TO TRY TO GET TO GOLBERY INFORMALLY THE SAME INFORMATION THAT I PASS TO SILVEIRA (SEE NEXT PARAGRAPH).

11. I CONSIDER IT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO GIVE SILVEIRA AN INFORMAL, PLAIN, UNIDENTIFIED PIECE OF PAPER CONTAINING THE PROPOSAL. MY LONG-STANDING DISTRUST OF SILVEIRA HAS ONLY GROWN IN RECENT WEEKS. (HIS HISTORICAL AND HERETOFORE SOMEWHAT VEILED DISLIKE OF THE U.S. HAS NOW BEEN QUITE FULLY REVEALED TO THE POINT THAT IT IS COMMON TALK IN OFFICIAL CIRCLES IN THE GOB AND THE WESTERN DIPLOMATIC CORPS.) WITH A PIECE OF PAPER FROM ME, HE ALMOST CERTAINLY (95-5) WOULD NOT DARE TO WITHHOLD IT FROM GOLBERY AND THE PRESIDENT OR TO DISTORT THE APPROACH. TO GUARD AGAINST THE FIVE PERCENT CHANCE, HOWEVER, WE WOULD PLAN TO TAKE STEPS TO GET A COPY OF THE PAPER TO GOLBERY SHORTLY AFTER ITS DELIVERY TO SILVEIRA. PLEASE AUTHORIZE ME TO PROVIDE SUCH A PAPER. IN THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THIS TELEGRAM, I PROVIDE A DRAFT FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S APPROVAL.

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12. I ALSO FEEL THE NEED TO DESCRIBE FOR SILVEIRA WITH
SOME SPECIFICITY THE NATURE OF THE "NON-DISCUSSIONS".
FOR THIS REASON, I HAVE INCLUDED SUCH A DESCRIPTION IN THE
DRAFT BELOW.

13. THERE FOLLOWS THE PROPOSED TEXT OF THE PAPER TO
BE LEFT WITH SILVEIRA:

-- VERY CAREFUL STUDY IS BEING GIVEN TO THE

NUCLEAR POLICY "WHITE BOOK" AS WELL AS THE CORRESPONDENCE
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BETWEEN PRESIDENTS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS.
-- TO THESE ELEMENTS ARE BEING ADDED THE
RESULTS OF THE CHRISTOPHER VISIT TO BONN AND RECENT
DISCUSSIONS WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND STATE SECRETARY
GENSCHER.
-- IT IS HOPED THAT THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT
IS ALSO STUDYING THE PROPOSALS THAT WERE PRESENTED TO
IT. THESE AND OTHER IDEAS CAN BE ELABORATED UPON IN
THE NEAR FUTURE.
-- IT IS BELIEVED THAT IT IS BOTH POSSIBLE
AND IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS BETTER
AND TO MOVE TOWARD A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION AND WITHOUT
PUBLICITY.
-- IT IS SUGGESTED, THEREFORE, THAT A VERY
PRIVATE, INFORMAL DISCUSSION ("NON-DISCUSSION") COULD
BE HELD AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT LOCATION -- PERHAPS
SOMEWHERE IN EUROPE OR THE CARIBBEAN.
-- THIS "NON-DISCUSSION" MIGHT TAKE PLACE BETWEEN
A FEW OFFICIALS ON EACH SIDE, JUST BELOW THE LEVELS OF THE
PRINCIPALS EARLIER INVOLVED.
-- THE "NON-DISCUSSION" WOULD BE SECRET AND
INFORMAL. WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTANCE, NO COMMITMENTS
OR DECISIONS WOULD BE EXPECTED TO BE GIVEN OR MADE
BY ANY PARTICIPANT.
-- ON THE BASIS OF THIS "NON-DISCUSSION",
THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS COULD BE EVALUATED, AND FURTHER
DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS HELD. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE TALKS AT
THE EARLIER LEVEL COULD BE RESUMED, AS WAS JOINTLY
AGREED.
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Message Attributes

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Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEXT STEPS ON FRG/GOB NUCLEAR AGREEMENT
TAGS: TECH, MNUC, ENRG, PARM, BR, GE, US
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